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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

All communications for the BULLETIN should be addressed to Allen C. Thomas, Haverford, Pa.

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THOMAS PENN'S WALKING PURCHASE.

Early in the morning of the nineteenth of Ninth month, 1737, there was an interesting gathering at a point in the old Durham Road, at Wrightstown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Three men, Edward Marshall, James Yeates and Solomon Jennings, stood, each with one hand on a chestnut tree, awaiting the signal to start upon a walk of one and a half days in a general northwestwardly direction as the final act in a land deal with the Indians.* The exact place of the old tree is unknown, but its proximate location is beyond dispute, and we may assume it was on the spot since marked by the Bucks County Historical Society, a few rods from the Friends' Meeting House.

As we pause at this point, and try to understand the purpose of the gathering of settlers and officials, the backward look is obscure, but the forward view is partially illumined by official records and the testimony of eye-witnesses.

Before we liberate the three walkers from their places by the chestnut tree, let us explain the occasion of their presence, and why the early narrative is so obscure. The present writer accepts the tradition that in 1686 a bargain was made with the Indians for the purchase of all the land bounded upon the east by the Delaware River, and upon the west by a line starting from some point near Philadelphia, thence along the water course of the Neshaminy, and in that general direction as far as a man could walk in two and one half days (or perhaps three days, for exact data are not available), to a point, thence to the Delaware River. The writer farther assumes that William Markham having made this bargain, either he, or possibly William Penn himself on the occasion of his second visit, did the first day's (or day and a half) walk, reaching the chestnut tree at Wrightstown; then

* No attempt is made in these pages to discriminate as to the smaller Indian tribes encountered by the early settlers of Eastern Pennsylvania. Lenni Lenape, Delaware and Shawanese are names used interchangeably, and these Indians seem to have spoken a different language from the Six Nations or Iroquois, who exercised a kind of sovereign control.

thinking he had all the land likely to be needed, simply reserved the right to extend the walk another day and a half should the additional land ever be needed. He is further willing to believe that Penn, if it was he, walked leisurely from sunrise to sunset, stopping an hour for lunch, and was not averse to a pause for the purpose of shooting game. This walk might have been along the Neshaminy, or along the river to a point above Morrisville, at the mouth of what was called Baker's Run, thence running a line to intersect the Neshaminy. But all this rests upon tradition only, and if any one questions the truth of it, we must confess to the want of absolute proof. We must in fairness adopt a conclusion which will account for the well-defined neighborhood belief as above stated, and for the equally definite Indian tradition in regard to it. There were men living in 1737 who must have known all about the first part of the walk, and it was not questioned in those days. The Indian chief, who, as will presently be told, objected to the manner of completing the walk, might easily have been one of the party on the earlier occasion.

But now, in 1737, times were much changed. William Penn had long since passed away. Thomas Penn, Governor from 1732 to 1741, was the American representative of proprietary interests. Land was increasingly valuable. Already, without waiting fully to extinguish the Indian title, some tracts had been sold far beyond the limits of the first day's (or day and a half) walk. Thomas Penn began to plan for the completion of the purchase. He had departed from the principles and practices of his father and the Society of which he was once a nominal member. He cared little for the rights of the Indians, but much for his own personal gain. As early as 1735 he had the Surveyor-General of Bucks County make a trial walk over the ground, blazing a trail and removing obstructions. Endeavors were made to keep this a secret at the time, but it is now a well-established fact. Next he called a council of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, from whom the purchase was originally made. From this council, or from some portion of it, he secured a treaty confirming previous grants. We are told that original treaties and bargains were all gone over and explained. Of course, when one of the contracting parties could

not read, and there was no way to tell a forged from a real deed of transfer, there were opportunities for wrong-doing. Out of this council of 1737 emerges a document, which is not supported by anything older, as regards the particular piece of land in question. It describes:—

> "All those Tract or Tracts of Land lying or being in the Province of Pennsylvania, Beginning upon a line formerly laid out, from a corner Spruce Tree by the River Delaware, about Macereckitton, and from thence running along the ledge or foot of the mountains, west north west, to a corner white oak, marked with a letter P. standing by the Indian town called Playwicky, and from thence extending westward to Neshamaney Creek, from which said Line the Tract or Tracts above granted doth extend itself back into the woods as far as a man can go in one day and a half, and bounded on the westerly side with the creek called Neshamaney, or the westerly branch thereof as far as the said branch doth extend, and from thence by a line to the utmost of said day and a half journey, and from thence to the aforesaid Delaware, and from thence down the several courses of that river to the first mentioned Spruce Tree."

It will be observed that the above does not indicate how the line was to run from the end of the walk to the river. The careful reader may see that it first encloses the land of the first day's (or day and a half) walk, and then provides for the additional day and a half.

It was this extension of the walk, which now occupied the attention of Thomas Penn. And this autumn morning, as the three walkers stood awaiting the signal, we are tempted to believe that the assembled company were more anxious to please the Governor than to conserve the rights of the Indians. Timothy Smith, the sheriff of Bucks County, was to see fair play, preserve order, and act as time-keeper and general manager. Surveyor-General Benjamin Eastburn had been over the ground in the trial walk, and knew exactly what was to be done. Nicholas Scull,

John Chapman and James Steel, Jr., were somewhat in the capacity of commissioners to safeguard the interests of Penn. John Combush, an Indian, who could speak English, with Joe Tuneam and his brother-in-law, represented the Indians. Alexander Brown, John Heider, Ephraim Goodwin, Joseph Knowles, Thomas Furness and others were present, either through curiosity or to assist by carrying food, wine and bedding for the party. Probably all except the official walkers and the Indians were on horseback.

The signal was given, and the walk began. It had been agreed that they must ford all streams except the Lehigh, where a boat was provided. If a walker wished to jump across a stream he must first walk to it,—then back out if he wished to make a running jump. Jennings gave out before noon, and was never a well man again. They stopped fifteen minutes for lunch, and walked that much later next day to compensate. In the afternoon they crossed the Lehigh below where the town of Bethlehem now stands. The Indians were dissatisfied, and said they were going too fast. Twice when Marshall, an easy walker, had fallen a little behind, he quickened his pace to catch up, and this caused the Indians to accuse him of running. The Blue Ridge was crossed in the afternoon, and night found the party in what is now Northampton County.

Next morning it was raining, the horses had strayed, and there were no Indians to represent their interests. It was not until eight a.m. that a start was made. Yeates fell in trying to jump a stream, and some narratives say died three days afterward. Allowing for the late start and for previous day's lunch, it was 2.15 p.m. before the sheriff called a halt. Some accounts say that only one Indian saw the finish, some that no Indian was present. One old man who might have walked with William Penn, and who at least carried the tradition of the former method, complained of this walk—"No sit down to smoke, no shoot squirrel; just lun, lun, lun, all day long."

There is some uncertainty as to the exact point where the walk ended. The sworn statement of an eye-witness gives us a glimpse of the sheriff, with his watch in hand, pointing Marshall,

the last walker, to a rising ground ahead as a good stopping place, and time was not called until he reached a group of five chestnut trees, which were all marked P, and became the official corner. The best evidence obtainable would indicate that they had deflected a little to the west to pass the last range of hills in what is now called the Lehigh Gap, and that the walk ended a few miles northeast of Mauch Chunk. Marshall always claimed that he had walked eighty-six miles. Other estimates varied from sixty, the lowest, to one hundred and ten. Modern conservative estimates place it at about seventy-two miles. Any of these figures, in view of the roughness of the country traversed, sufficiently accounts for the failure of two, and leaves us to marvel at the endurance of the third.

It now remained to run a line to the Delaware River. The Indians supposed it would be to the nearest point, which would be the Water Gap. Not so, thought the party in charge of Thomas Penn's interests. In the next four days Benjamin Eastburn and his assistants proceeded to run what he called a "right line" to the river. Whether this was at right angles to the line established by the walk, or whether it struck the Delaware at right angles, we are unable to state. The one thing certain is that it ran away off to the northeast in such manner that it reached the Delaware at the mouth of the Lackawaxen, and thus gave to the whites the choice hunting grounds of the Indians, the Minnesink region, a possible 500,000 acres to which they had a very doubtful claim.

Here might end the story of the Walking Purchase, but in justice to history, the account must proceed a little further. The Indians did not readily yield possession of the disputed land. More whites were moving in, and a border warfare seemed imminent. Five years after the walk, Governor Thomas Penn appealed to the Six Nations. It seems that years before this the Delaware and Shawanese Indians had been conquered by the great aggregation known as the Six Nations, and were held in some degree of subjection. In 1742 a delegation of 230 chiefs and warriors came on a visit to Philadelphia. They were guests of the Province. There were big dinners and much cordiality.

Map of Eastern Pennsylvania in 1754. Illustrating
THOMAS PENN'S WALKING PURCHASE.

Adapted by permission of the authors and the American Book Co. From Walton & Brumbaugh's "*Stories of Pennsylvania*." Copyright, American Book Co., 1897.

At the time this map was made the whole northeastern part of the State was called Northampton County, while "John Harris Ferry" indicates the spot destined to be distinguished as the capital of the State.

The chiefs were easily made to see that the conquered and despised tribes had been in the wrong. A great council was held, at which Conasattego, head chief of the Iroquois, addressed the Delawares after this fashion:—

"Cousins, let this belt of wampum chastise you. You ought to be taken by the head and shaken severely, until you have recovered your senses and become sober. Our brother Onas's cause is very just and plain, and his intentions to preserve friendship. On the other hand, your cause is bad, and your hearts are far from being right. . . . But how came you to sell the land at all? We conquered you and made women of you. You know you are women, and can no more sell land, than women. This land, which you claim, has gone down your throats. Now you want it again like children as you are. . . . Take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately. We assign you two places, Wyomen and Shamoken."

When Conrad Weiser and other interpreters had made this plain, tradition says Conasattego siezed the chief of the Delawares by the hair and ignominiously threw him out of the council, to be followed by all his companions. These downtrodden Indians burned their cabins and left their homes. Little wonder that a few years later, under French influence, these same Indians led in the attack on the border settlements, and that Edward Marshall, the famous walker, who had settled far up on the disputed land, should be one of the first to feel its effects, one or more of his children having been killed and his family driven across the river.

Much that is included in the foregoing narrative was unknown to the general public at the time. But when the French and Indian War broke out, there was naturally much inquiry as to why the Indians were so easily estranged from the English interests. Benjamin Franklin, being in London on other business, in 1759, wrote to the Board of Trade, telling how, at a conference at Easton in 1756: "Teedyuscung complained that the Indians had been unjustly dispossessed and defrauded of large quantities of land, particularly of the lands which are included in the forks of the Delaware."

Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, afterward secretary to the Continental Congress, in 1757 attended a council at Easton, and so pleased the Delawares that he was adopted into their tribe and entered into their politics, thus having peculiar opportunities for knowing their side of the case. He wrote a small book, which was printed in London in 1769, throwing much light on the question of Indian wrongs. He calls attention to the injustice of the walking purchase. These two cases are mentioned from outside the Society of Friends. Within its borders much sympathy and interest were manifested. Friends could not help them to fight, but they felt a freedom to assist them in stating their grievances to the government. Thomas Penn, now back in England, was much annoyed by this activity of members of the Society. In a letter to Richard Peters, dated Third month 17th, 1757, he says: "The malice of the Quakers in assisting the Indians to make the charge is very visible," etc. Again, in the autumn of 1758, he writes: "Israel Pemberton's hints are very impertinent, and will not be the means of gaining for the Indians one shilling more than they would otherwise have," etc.

But one good thing happened as a result of this advocacy of Indians' rights, and the sufferings entailed by the war. The English Government was driven by public sentiment to order an investigation, and this Walking Purchase was a tangible instance in point. So it came to pass that twenty years after the events we have related, the survivors were brought before a committee of the Provincial Assembly, and their sworn testimony became public property. If there are found to be conflicting statements and strange omissions in this evidence, it must be remembered that a long time had elapsed, and such variation is to be expected. It is some satisfaction to find that Surveyor-General Eastburn, looking back over a period of twenty years, was inclined to think, and now confessed, that injustice had been done to the Indians.

NOTE.—Those who wish to go more thoroughly into the story of the Indian Walk, or, as we have chosen to call it, Thomas Penn's Walking Purchase, may consult various books and papers, of which the following are most easy of access:

1. "History of the Indian Walk," by William J. Buck, to which is appended a biographical sketch of Edward Marshall. Jenkintown, Pa., 1886. This is by far the most complete and exhaustive account ever prepared.

2. "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interests." Written by Charles Thomson. London, 1769. Reprint, Philadelphia, 1867.

3. Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," Vol. VI, page 209. This contains the account written by John Watson, father and son, of Buckingham, Pa., early in the nineteenth century.

4. Laws of Pennsylvania from 1700 to 1810, Vol II, page 109. Much information is contained in notes and annotations.

5. Joseph S. Walton and Martin G. Brumbaugh, in "Stories of Pennsylvania," New York, 1897, devote one short chapter to this subject.

6. Facsimile of Benjamin Eastburn's map, with notes, may be seen at the rooms of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia.

7. "Historical Map of Pennsylvania," edited by P. W. Sheafer and others, and published in 1875 by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This shows by dotted lines the location and extent of the Walking Purchase.

9. "Quaker Ben, a Tale of Colonial Pennsylvania in the Days of Thomas Penn." Henry C. McCook. Philadelphia, 1911. The writer takes a novelist's freedom with the material at his command, but dwells at length on the walk, and gives a very unflattering picture of Thomas Penn at Pennsbury.

It is well known that the Delaware Indians immediately saw and complained of the manner in which these things were done as a fraud upon them, nor would they relinquish the land until compelled to do so by the deputies of the Six Nations, at the treaty of 1742. The proceedings of this walk are mentioned as one of the causes of the hostile feelings of the Indians, which eventually led to war and bloodshed; and the first murder committed by them in the Province was on the very land they believed themselves cheated out of.—William H. Egle, History of Pennsylvania, 1876, p. 443.

ADDRESS OF CANADIAN FRIENDS TO LORD DURHAM, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA, 1838.

Joshua Bull.*

In the year 1837 the old French party in Canada (mostly Roman Catholics), rebelled and attempted to secede from the British Government. A state of civil war ensued. In 1838 the Earl of Durham was sent out from England as Governor-General of Canada with special powers to deal with the situation. All citizens were called upon to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown, and to the young Queen Victoria, who had recently come to the throne of England. Meanwhile some "over-officious" person required the Friends in Farnham to take an oath of allegiance in a form which they could not subscribe to on account of their testimony against all oaths in any form. This placed the Friends in a very embarrassing position. At length, however, it was reported that the Earl of Durham had announced his intentions to resign his position as Governor and return to England. This circumstance afforded the Friends an opportunity to express their loyalty and allegiance to the government, and to the Earl of Durham, personally, without any oath, as appears by the following address, which was prepared and signed by the adult male members of Friends, and numerous other citizens who never were members of the Society of Friends. It was then forwarded to the Earl of Durham, as expressing their satisfaction and confidence in his administration of affairs, and requesting him to remain at his post.

It is not mentioned who was delegated to present this document to the Governor. Farnham Monthly Meeting had not been established at that time; therefore there are no monthly meeting

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Note.—Joshua Bull, the contributor of the present paper, died Seventh month 18, 1912, in his eighty-second year. He was the last male member of what was East Farnham Monthly Meeting. He sent this paper last spring, but too late for our last number. He was an interested reader of the Bulletin, and contributed to the number for Eleventh month, 1908 (Vol. 2, No. 3), a valuable paper on the history of Farnham Monthly Meeting, P. Q., Canada.—Editor.

records to refer to for data. But it appears evident from the context of his reply that some reference other than what appears in this document must have been made to him in regard to the embarrassing situation concerning the Oath of Allegiance, which difficulty he seems to understand readily from his knowledge of Friends in England.

It will doubtless be desirable to publish the names of some of the Friends who signed this address, and as there are in the list many names of those who never were members, I have put an asterisk opposite the names of some of the prominent members, to indicate their membership.

FARNHAM, 10th mo. 9, 1838.

To the Earl of Durham,

Governor-General of the Canadas, &c., &c., &c.

We, the undersigned Citizens of the Townships of Farnham, and parts adjacent in Lower Canada, beg leave respectfully to represent to the Earl of Durham, that we are so situated as to have been among the afflicted witnesses of some of the commotions which so greatly disturbed this province during the Autumn and Winter of last year.

We deeply regret those commotions, and above all deplore their lamentable issue, the shedding of blood; and that in no small or unimportant scale.

With those awful scenes in our recollection, we have hailed the paternal government of the Earl of Durham, distinguished as we consider it to have been by moderation as well as firmness, and strong had been our hopes that it would be the means of permanently softening down the asperities of party & of preventing the recurrence of such afflicting and distressing events.

It is therefore matter of grief and lamentation to us that circumstances should have induced the Earl of Durham to entertain the intention of retiring from these provinces. We are persuaded that notwithstanding these circumstances his government would continue to have the support of good and moderate men of all parties, and that nothing which has occurred would materially weaken its strength & efficacy.

We shrink from the view of the too probable recurrence of confusion & bloodshed should the Earl of Durham retire from Canada, and as friends to Peace, Charity, & Good Order, we venture most respectfully yet earnestly to implore him to continue to afford to these provinces the benefit of his wise counsels and peaceable yet efficient protection.

Signed by

*Charles Taber
G. Bull
Jas. Hawkins
Alman Hubbaurd
Heman Allen
Jonathan Wright
Elisha Goddard
Geo. Carpenter
Roswell Wells
R. H. Mansfield
John Hoskins, Jun.
*Levi Knowles
Peter Humphrey
Elam L. Conant
James Hawkins, Jun.
*Aaron Bull
David Bull
N. Knowles
*H. Jewel
J. Taber
N. Purinton
Stephen Mansfield
*David F. Knowles
David Fordice
Samuel Knowles
Richard Wells, Jun.
Philip Wood
Charles L. Parnell
Isaac Gleason
Joel Bultalph
John Wilkinson
Saul Bull
Daniel Felch
Allans Reynolds
Gideon Meader
David Jewell
Joseph Taber
Stephen Bassett
George Shepherd
*Reuben Goddard
*George C. Hall
G. S. Newell
H. N. Hall
*H. Felch
*James Purinton
W. Purinton
S. Knowles
I. Jewel
R. Knowles
*Abner H. Beede
Enoch Barnum
A. P. Hubbard
J. Knowles
J. Meader
*A. Barton
Zeno C. Taber
*David E. Knowles
I. Hoskins
P. Hoskins

QUEBEC, October 26th, 1838.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith the enclosed answer from his excellency The Governor-General, to the address presented by you—I have also enclosed a copy of the Declaration of Fidelity referred to in his Excellency's answer.

I have the honor to be &c.

CHARLES BULLEN
Chief Secretary.

Answer.

You need not entertain any fears that I should doubt your loyalty and attachment to the British Crown. I feel persuaded that if you have declined adopting the usual public method of declaring your allegiance to Her Majesty, it has been from religious scruples as to the form, and not repugnance to the substantial declaration of Fidelity.

I know not under what authority any oath of allegiance has been tendered to you which can offend those scruples. Shortly after the accession of King William the Third an act was passed by the British Parliament establishing the form of a declaration of Fidelity to the Crown of England, to be made by all who, entertaining your religious principles, could not conscientiously take the ordinary oath of allegiance. This act was subsequently altered by one passed in the eighth year of King George the First, Chapter 6th, and under these acts the form of Declaration prescribed by the latter is still taken and subscribed by all persons of your religious tenets in Great Britain. If any other form has been tendered to you it has been probably through inadvertence and not intentionally.

For your friendly expression toward myself accept my best thanks. I am very grateful for your good opinion of me, and trust that I shall ever by my actions deserve your confidence.

Durham.

Declaration of Fidelity.

I do solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that I will be true and faithful to Queen Victoria, and do solemnly, sincerely, and truly profess, testify and declare that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and renounce as impious and heretical that wicked doctrine and position, that Princes excommunicated or deposed by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or martyred by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Power, Jurisdiction, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this realm.

Note by the Editor.—The "commotions" referred to in this paper were those caused by what is known as the Canadian Rebellion of 1837.

In 1791 Canada was divided into Upper and Lower Canada, each province having a governor appointed by the crown; a legislative council nominated by the governor; and an elected assembly. The latter had little power, and no control over expenditures. This latter was a great and reasonable grievance. Moreover, the offices of state were practically restricted to a few families. In Lower Canada, whose population was chiefly French, there was great friction between the British and French on account of race, religion, temperament, and language. So great was the dissatisfaction that in 1837 there were small rebellions in each province. These risings were put down without much difficulty, but the causes of discontent remained.

Lord Durham was sent out in 1838 with full powers to deal with the situation. He was an able statesman in most respects, but appears to have been deficient in executive matters. He soon got into hot water, and raised much indignation in England by what was considered his high-handed conduct. After scarcely five months in office he resigned. He, however, drew up an able report on the condition of affairs in Canada, in which he advocated (1) granting to the colonial assembly almost full control over domestic affairs; and (2) the union of the two provinces. In essentials his recommendations were adopted, and in accordance with the scheme then devised Canada was governed until the establishment of the Dominion of Canada in 1867. Durham's plan marks the beginning of England's modern colonial policy. The value of Durham's Report is shown by the fact that it has lately been republished, with an Introduction and Notes. ("Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America." London, 1912. Henry Frowde. 3 Vols. 25/ net.

CERTIFICATE OF MARY ROGERS, 1698.

By M. Ethel Crawshaw.

Mary Rogers was a daughter of John Wheeler. In her marriage certificate, which has recently been sent to the Reference Library at Devonshire House, London, she is described as of Witney, Oxfordshire, late of Whitby, in Yorkshire. She was married to Joseph Rogers, of East Markham, Nottinghamshire, in 1685. The marriage took place at Witney; the certificate is signed by thirteen men and eighteen women in addition to the contracting parties.

Very little information is to hand regarding Mary Rogers, prior to her marriage. In the Minute Book "for the Women's Meetings in and about ffarringdon in y^e^ county of Berks," commencing 1676,* Mary Wheeler is noted as being present at the meeting held at Charney on the 22d of 3 mo., 1682. Except for her very occasional attendance at Monthly Meeting, no particulars appear regarding her.

In 1697 Mary Rogers and Elizabeth Webb sailed for America, landing in Virginia towards the close of the year.† "The certifficate ffrom A Monthly Meetinge held at Philadelphia" mentioned in the following document, was ordered to be drawn up by the Meeting of Ministering Friends held in Burlington, at the house of Samuel Jennings, from the 17th to the 23d of 7 mo. [September], 1698. Mary Rogers, with other visiting Friends, was present, and laid her concern for service in Barbados before the Meeting, "in much brokenness . . . though she had tried several ways to have evaded it, if the Lord had seen good, yet every way, except that, seemed as darkness to her."‡ Two days after the close of this Meeting, she attended the Yearly Meeting of Women Friends, in the same city. An Epistle from this meeting was addressed to Women Friends in London; it bears the signature of Mary Rogers among others.§

She did not live to complete her service in the New World. Samuel Carpenter, of Burlington, in a letter to William Ellis, dated 12th mo., 1699, states that Mary Rogers died "in her passage from Nevis or Antigua to Jamaica."¶ The following extract from an Epistle from Barbados Friends to London Yearly Meeting, 9th of 1st mo., 1699, gives an additional detail: "Dear Mary Rogers and Jacob ffallowfield dyed by y^e^ Malignant feavour as they were going thence."‖ The certificate/ here

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* Deposited at Devonshire House by Witney Monthly Meeting.

† Bowden, "History, II, 44.

‡ Bowden, "History," II, 40.

§ Box Meeting MSS. No. 49, deposited at Devonshire House.

¶ William and Alice Ellis, 1849, 168.

‖ Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, Vol. II.

/ In the possession of Elizabeth A. Follows, of King's Lynn, Norfolk.

printed is written upon a sheet of paper measuring 14 x 14 inches, a wide margin being left at the right-hand side. The writing is in a decorative style, containing many capitals and flourishes. Most of the signatures appear to be original.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, LONDON.
6 mo. 1912.

BARBADOS

ffrom our Quarterly Meetinge, Held At our Meetinge House, At the Springe the 22th day of the 10th Month 1698

Deare ffriends and Brethren

To Whome these shall Come Greetinge And to all the ffaithfull Amonge you, To the Sallutation of our Unffeigned Love for that Liffe, which Unites Us to God, And one Vnto another, In the Bond off Peace

This May Certyfie you, that our Deare, and Much Esteemed ffriend, Mary Rogers, Visiting Vs In the Love of God—And ffor orders sake shewing to Vs hir Cirtifficate, ffrom a Quarterly Meetinge, held At Mansffeild, In the County of Nottingham In the Kingdome of England, to Which shee Belongs, and allsoe hir Certifficate ffrom A Monthly Meetinge held at Philadelphia In the Province of Pensilvania, Signyfieinge theire Vnity with hir Travelling In the Service of the Truth, was Read Amonge Vs To Our Comforte and Refreshment and According to our Measures and groweth In the Truth, Cann doe Noe Lesse, then Giue the Same Testymony ffor hir, as Is therein Exprest, Haveing Vnity with our Said Bretheren Therein.

And our Said Deare ffriend haueing Drawings to the Island of Jamaica, Wee have Vnity therewith, and shee haueing approved Hir selfe A True preacher of the Euerlasting Gospell and A dilligent Labourer In the power of God Among Us—Wee soe Recommend hir, to all the ffaithfull wherever the Lord may Order hir to be Receiued by you, as A ffaithfull Servant of our Lord Jesus Christ, and ffor Order Sake, wee thincke It Convenient shee haue a Cirtifficate ffrom Vs &ct.

And Soe Deare ffriends, Wee Recommend you to the Grace of God, and Remaine Your ffriends According to our Measures Jn the Blessed Unchangable Truth.

Eliza Gamble	Tho: Clarke
Olive Peters	Will Deeth
Ann nulen	Francis Gamble
Agnes Weekes	William Hutching
mercy Layton	Walter Taylor
Katherine Thorpe	William Howard
Elizabeth Pilgrim	Edw. Hunt
Ann Jones	Thomas Habbin
Abigale Brathwaite	George Tayler
Elizabeth ffrisell	Robert Bootman
Hannah Gittings	Tho: Layton
Sarah Moore	Nathan ffloyd
Sybella Bowman	Will Clarke
Hannah Gittens the younger	Rob. Barnard
Eliz: Mullinex	Tho: pilgrim

A CATALOGUE OF "EIGHTY-SEVEN PUBLICK FFRIENDS YT HAVE DYED IN PENSILVANIA SINCE YE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF FRIENDS THERE."

[The following list is taken from the manuscript Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, vol. 4 (1709-1713, p. 59), in Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London. "A Catalogue brot. in of Eighty-seven publick ffriends yt have dyed in Pensilvania Since the first Settlement of friends there in part Read and left with Benj[a] Bealing to keep wth ye Record of yt kind." The BULLETIN is indebted to Norman Penney, the Librarian of Friends' Reference Library, for this copy. The remainder of the list will appear in the next issue of the BULLETIN.—EDITOR.]

An Account of Publick ffriends deseased In Pensilvania West and East Jarseys

Buried Att Philad^{a}: &c.	Buryed In Philad^{a}.
ffrancis ffincher came from Worcester In the Year 1683 he was drowned goeing ouer a fferry y^{e} Begining of y^{e} 6 mo 1684 & was buried	6 mo 1684
James Claypoole Came from London in the Year 1683 & was buried y^{e}	7 6 mo 1687
Christo: Tayler came from Edmonton near London wth his Wife ffrancis in y^{e} Year 1683 his wife was bried in y^{e} year	1685
he was bured in y^{e} year	1686
Jn^{o} Longhurst Came out of the County of Sussex in y^{e} yere 1682 he deced in West Jarsey and was Brought ouer to Philad and was buried y^{a}	25.. 11mo 1688
John Eckley came from y^{e} Sea in herefordshire in y^{e} Year 1683 & returned into England againe and Ariued in y^{e} Year 1687 he recd a publick Testomney after he first arriued & was buried y^{e}	15th 4mo 1688$\frac{8}{9}$
Edw: Luffe came from markett Lauington in Westshire & was buried in y^{e} Year	1689
Thom^{s}. Winne Came from Caros in fflintShire in y^{e} Year 1682 was buried	17: 1 m^{o}: 169$\frac{1}{2}$
John Delavall The Sonne of Thom^{s} Delaule Mc^{e}h^{t} in N. York where he was conserned and recd a Publick Testimoney he remoued To Philad^{a} and was buried y^{e}	10th: 6m^{o}: 1693
*W^{m} Brigtwen Came from London to West Jarsey In y^{e} Y^{r} from thence removed to Philad^{a} and was buried y^{e}	22^{d}: 6mo: 1694

Thom^{s} Lloyd was Deputy Gou^{r} of Pensilv^{a} Seurile Years he Came from Motgoneryshire in Wales & Belonged to Doloboram meeting he arriued in Philad^{a} y^{e} 20-7mo 1683 & was buried.....12th: 7mo 1694

*W^{m} Stockdall belonging to Charlemont meeting in y^{e} north of Ireland he Arriued ab^{t} y^{e} Yeare 1687 and Was buried y^{e}.....23^{d} 7m^{o} 1693

Eliz^{a}: y^{e} Wife of W^{m} Kelley Came from Penbrookshire in South Wales in y^{e} Year 1683 She recd a publick Testemoney @ Salem in West Jarsey from thence remoued to Philad^{a}: and was buried y^{e}—7th:9mo:1694

Nath^{a}: Duckett, the brother of Thom^{s} Duckett hereafter mentioned he Came from Kingston upon Thems in y^{e} Y^{r} 1696 or thereabouts and was buried y^{e}.....1st 2d^{mo}: 1697

Rob^{t}: Barrow of Kendall in the County of Westmoreland Came from London in y^{e} Year 1695 with his Companion Rob^{t} Wardell, they Trauled Together through this provnce y^{e} Jarseys N: York New England Maryland Virginia North Carolina Bermudas And Jamaica who ware Diligent and ffaithfull in their Service for the Lord his Truth and People his d^{r} Companion Being Seprated from him by Death in Jamaica he with some Other ffriends tooke Passage in a vessell bound for Philadelphia whereof Joseph Kirle was M^{r} and meeting with a Storme in the Gulph of fflorida the Vessell was Cast on shore Amoungh the men Eaters and Ware all Saved and wonderfulley deliured from Amoungh

Them and Trauled Through Those Indians in Great dang^{r} and hardships wanting food and Clothing to defend them from the Cold to a Sellement of the Spaniards called Augustine whare the Gov^{r} and Peopell ware Very kind to Them from Thence to South Carolina (a Perticuler Acco^{t} whareof is in Print) this our d^{r} deceased ffriend Ariued in Philad^{a} y^{e} Beginning of y^{e} Second Month in the Yeare 1697 his body being Very much Weekned and Jmpaired by Hunger and cold: and the Great hardships and Trauells he vnd^{r}-went being aged but his sperit much reuiued and Comforted in the Lord often Expresing with Great Joy that y^{e} Lord had Giuen him his hearts desire that he might Lay his bodey Amoungh ffreinds In Philad^{a} he departed a few days after his arriuell and Was Burried the.....6th: 2mo: 1697

John and Margett Linam belonging to Shilltop meeting in Codner in darbyshire Came to Maryland in the Year 1677 from thence remoued to Philadelphia— She was breid.....13th: 12th m^{o}: 169$\frac{7}{8}$

Eliz^{a} y^{e} Widdow of W^{m} Walker who deseased in London he was buried the.....7 .. 2 .. 1698 Some time before his Visit to ffreinds in England she Belonged to Welsh Poole meeting in North Wales and Came in with her then Husband W^{m} Morgan in the Year 1682 She recd a Publick Testemoney—after her first Arriuel her maden Name Being Brintnall She was Buried the.....26th: 5m^{o}: 1697

Millicent Hoskins widdow Came from Worcester in y^e^ Year 1683 was Burried y^e^.....9^th^: 2^mo^ 169$\frac{8}{9}$

Arthur Cooke Came from London to Road Island in y^e^ Year from thence to Philad^a^ and Was Burried the .....2.. 8^mo^ 1699

Eliz^a^ y^e^ wife of Jn^o^ Martin Came from Sterjoring in the County of Sussex in y^e^ Y^r^ 1698 or there Abouts she was buried the...13^th^ 7^mo^ 1699

Thom^s^ Duckett Belonging to Swinum meeting on the Edge of Wiltshire he Arriued in the y^r^ 1683 and was buried y^e^....14^th^: 7^th^ m^o^: 1699

Mary Sibthorpe Late wife of Francis ffincher before mentioned and Came from Worcester with him she was buried.....28 .. 7m^o^: 1699

Thom^s^ Musgroue of Warley near Hallifax in York Shire Took Ship at Liverpoole and was Bound for Philad^a^ he died on Shipboard y^e^ 14.. 6mo: 1699 w^th^ ab^t^ 50 passengers more y^e^ Vessell arrived in y^e^ same m^o^.....4^th^: 6m: 1699

Henery Mitchell Belonged to Marston meeting in Lancashire he died on board y^e^ said Ship y^e^ 5mo: 1699.....5^mo^ 1699

Alcice y^e^ Wife of Jn^o^ Kencerly Came from Wolldall or near Jt in Yorkshire her maiden name was Heyworth of Rossendall Lancashire. She died also on board y^e^ said Ship in y^e^ 5^th^ or 6mo: 1699.....1699

Hester y^e^ Wife of Rich^d^ Hoskins they Came from Barbados in y^e^ Year 1697 she was born in said Jsland whare she had a Publick Testomoney she died When her husband was in England on Truths Seruice (who Laid downe his body in London in y^e^ Year 1700) She was buried.....2.. 7^mo^ 1699

Roger Gill of London born at or near Harding in fflintshire Came with Thom^{s}: Storey by way Maryland in y^{e} 4th mo 1699 who Trauled together on the truths seruice to N: England and Returned to ur Yearly meeeting held then Jn Philad^{a} the Latter End of y^{e} 7mo it being a time of Great mortallety he was taken Ill Soone after the Yearly meeting & was burried 3^{d}.. 8m^{o}.. 1699..3^{d} 8mo: 1699

Thom^{s}: ffitswater Came from Kingstone upon Thems or near It in the Year 1682 was burried 6: 8mo: 1699.....6th.. 8mo: 1699

John busby the sonne of John Busby of Tew in Oxfordshire Came ouer when he was Young in y^{e} Year 1682 and recd a Testemoney after his Arriuell he was burried .....6.. 8.. 1699

Sarah the wife of Nath^{a} Edgcomb Came in a Singe Woman from Wooldale in Yorkshire her maiden name was Ellis she was Burried y^{e}.. 24^{day}.. 12mo.. 1699.....24.. 12th.. 1699

Rob^{t} Stacey Came from hausworth woodhouse In y^{e} County of York to Burlington in West Jarsey in y^{e} Year 1678 (or thareabouts) from thence to Philad^{a} burried y^{e}.....5^{day} 10mo 1700

Eliz^{a} Iackson her maiden name Palmer belonged to Kingston meeting Upon Theames She Came in a Single woman with her ffather & Moth^{r} in y^{e} Yeare 1682 and recd a Publick Testemoney after her Arriuall she was Burried the.....26^{day} 5mo 1704

Deceased Publick ffreinds Belonging to hauerford monthly meeting in y^e County of Philad^a.

Henery Lewis..fformerly of Pembrokshire South wales Came to Pensilv^a in y^e Year 1682 was burried at hau^eford y^e.....17^day 6^mo 1688

Thom^s: Ellis..Came from Merionith Shire north wales in y^e Year 1683 was Burried at Hau^eford y^e .....8.. 11.. 1688

Rob^t Owen..of Dobysore in Merioneth Shire north wales arriued in Pensilv^a in the Year 1684 died in 1685 and burried near Duck Creeke in y^e Territories of said prouence 1685

Evan vp:....W^m Powell likewise Came from Merionithshire Intending for Pensilv^a with his ffamelley after a Tedious and Long Voyage (viz: 22 weeks) arriued at Barbados y^e 7.. 1^mo: 168$\frac{6}{7}$ and Within a ffew weeks died.....1687

Rob^t Owen Late of Vron Goch In Merionithsh: Arriued in the Year 1690 and Burried Att Merion buring place.....10^day: 10^mo 1697

John German from the County of Radner South wales arriued in 1683 and was burried at Radner y^e 14.. 12^mo: 1697.....14.. 12.. 1697

Jn^o Humphrey of Lwyndu In Merionithsh Arrived in y^e Yeare 1683 and was burried at Hau^e:ford the .....28.. 7.. 1699

Hugh Roberts..Late of Ciltalgarth In Merionithsh his ffirst arriuall was in y^e Year 1683 he was burried at merion y^e.....20.. 6.. 1702

John Roberts of Lanidlos in Radnershire Came in y^e Year 1698 he was taken Sick at Phil^a and burried there.....—7.. 1702

John Hasting of In Oxfordshire arriued in y^e^ Year 1682 or 1683 and was Burried at Hau^e^ford y^e^ 12.. 2^mo^: 1698 .....12:: 2.. 1689

Rich^d^ and Jone Wall They Came from Glaucest^r^-shire in y^e^ Year 1682 or 1683. they ware burried at Cheltnam in y^e^ County Philalelphia

he was Burried y^e^.....26.. 1^mo^ 1698
She was Burried y^e^....2^d^.. 12.. 1701

James Dellworth Belonging to Chipping meeting in Lancashire arriued in the 7^th^ mo 1682. he deceased In Bristoll Township in the County of Philad^a^ and Was burried .....8^day^ 7^mo^ 1699

[*To be continued.*]

THE PURCHASE OF SWARTHMOOR HALL.

[Though the purchase of Swarthmoor Hall has been noted in many Friends' periodicals, it seems right that so interesting an event should be chronicled in the BULLETIN, and so a letter of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, who had much to do with the matter, is reprinted from *The Friend* (London), Ninth month 13, 1912. —EDITOR.]

THE FUTURE OF SWARTHMORE HALL.

To the Editor of The Friend.

DEAR FRIEND.—As I know that Friends generally are interested in the change of ownership of Swarthmore* Hall, I had hoped to be able to give a brief account of the matter to the recent Meeting for Sufferings; but the pressure of other business and the inexorability of railway trains made this impossible.

Briefly, this little estate, so memorable in the history of

* Dr. Hodgkin uses this method of spelling the name.

Quakerism, does not immediately become the property of the Society of Friends, but our participation in the recent purchase ensures that it shall eventually belong to London Yearly Meeting. Miss Emma Abraham, of Liverpool, a lineal descendant of Margaret Fell, has had a lifelong desire to become the owner of the estate which a hundred and fifty years ago was sold, under the stress of hard times, by her ancestor, John Abraham. On the other hand, many Friends were desirous that this interesting historic property should not again be subject to the risks of private ownership and the possible appearance on the scene of the speculative builder. The compromise between these two laudable ambitions which we have arrived at is as follows:

The purchase money of the estate will be provided in two equal portions, half by Miss Abraham and half by the Friends who have kindly responded to my appeal. The property will be conveyed to her, but our moiety will remain as a charge on the estate at a low rate of interest. Miss Abraham will undertake to make no important structural change in the building without consulting with the mortgagees; but indeed for this covenant there is not likely to be any need, for she loves Swarthmore Hall as much as we do, and is averse to any change beyond the mere necessary upholding of the building. She will grant all reasonable facilities of access to visitors, especially visitors from a distance, who may desire to inspect the premises. A covenant will be inserted in the mortgage deed forbidding redemption of the property except by desire of the mortgagees, and assuring to the latter the right by pre-emption on Miss Abraham's decease, the purchase money to be the same as the moiety now paid by Miss Abraham, *plus* compensation for unexhausted improvements.

The old Hall will thus, we are persuaded, be lovingly and wisely cared for during the lifetime of its new owner, and will eventually, as before said, become the property of London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends.

It was obviously inexpedient to advertise widely the desire of Friends to purchase before the sale, and only about five and twenty probable donors were therefore consulted. Now, however, I hope we may see the establishment of a Swarthmore Hall

Trust Fund, to which small as well as large contributions may be made by those who are interested in the scheme, and to which some of our brethren across the Atlantic will, I believe, wish to subscribe. There is not only the present moiety of the purchase money to be provided for, but also probably some part of the expenses of repair and upholding of the building: and looking a little further ahead, it is desirable to have at least the nucleus of a fund for the final purchase of the estate. Thine truly,

THOMAS HODGKIN.

Barmoor Castle, September 7th, 1912.

PROTEST BY A SHIP'S CREW AGAINST CARRYING QUAKERS, 1664-5.

[Endorsed] Refusall to transport quakers from Bristoll.

A copie of a Certificate sent from Bristoll to London Concerning their refusing to Carrie 3 persons sentenced for Banishment.

These are to Certifie all & euery person or persons vnto whome this present Writing may or shall Come: That whereas there was 3 persons Called Quakers viz: Callender Britton, Bartholomew Crooke, & Lewis Rogers brought on Board our Shipp, Called the *Mary ffortune* of Bristoll the 6th day of December, and Continued waiting on board our shipp till the 23d of the same Month, then Came a stay for all shipps: So wee put them a shoare againe: & on the 31 day of y^e^ same month wee receiued a passe from his Royall Higehnes ths Duke of York to proceed on our voyage, and then they were brought on Board againe by John ThroughGood Water-Bayley, & hath Continued, on board our shipp till this present day: & now by Reason of the long continued presse wee Could in nowise deny the Carrycing them on Board; But now going to depart, their Crie & the Crie of their ffamilies & freinds are entred into the eares of the Lord God, & he hath smitten to our very hearts, saying Cursed is hee that parteth man & wife. And moreouer they that oppresse his people his plagues shall follow them wheresouer they Go; And assuredly

wee do in heart pertake with them allreadie for our Consciences will in nowise let vs rest, or be at quiet, for the Lord hath smitten vs with a terrible feare, so that we cannot in nowise proceed to Carrie them: And moreouer we do wholly believe, that our most Gracious Souereigne doth not in the least intend to destroy his subjects, because he hath not made void the Late Acte of the Nation, which saith that no Englishman shall be Carryed out of his natiue Countrie against his Will, & hee or they that do so Carrie them shall forfeit great penalties. And further we know that there is a Law in Barbadoes that whosoeuer doth bring any person or persons into the aforesaid Ileland against their Wills, & not being bound by Indentures shall be vnder such penalties as ye law may inflict vpon them & also forced to bring them back to their habitations againe, & we also know that they are innocent persons, & that they do desire to walk in y^e^ feare of the Lord, & that they was put on board on our shipp against their Wills; Neither are they bound by any Indenture, Neither hath any one agreed for their passage; And we find that our Maister hath no order, nor any ones hand to saue him & vs from Comeing vnder such penalties y^t^ y^e^ Law may inflict vpon vs for Carrying them in this nature: For these reasons & many more we haue put them on shore, Not that they haue made any escape, But that wee haue set them at Liberty to Go whither they please:

Witnesse our hands the 7^th^ of January 1664[5]

William Smith
Phillip Phillips
Thomas Sanders
John Moore
John Loide
Thomas Lewis
Richard Lord
Thomas Moodie

The above document is taken from "Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, Third Series, 1664 to 1669, pp. 230, 231," which volume is noticed elsewhere in the BULLETIN.

It shows that there was a decided feeling against the treatment the Friends were receiving at the hands of the rulers.—EDITOR.

ANNUAL EXCURSION OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA AND INTERESTED FRIENDS.*

1912.

Salem, New Jersey.

BY ONE OF THE EXCURSIONISTS.

The Annual Excursion of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia for 1912 was to the old New Jersey town of Salem. A special train left Camden at 1.07 p.m., connecting with the ferry boat from Philadelphia at 1 p.m. The date, Sixth month 15th, seemed to conflict with sundry school and college functions, and a threat of rain kept some at home, so the company was not so numerous as had been expected. In fact, officers and members of the Historical Society, usually present on such occasions, were conspicuously absent. The threatened rain did not come, the absence of dazzling sunlight was an advantage rather than otherwise, and the trip as a whole was eminently successful.

An hour's run from Camden, through a country of farms, gardens and villages, and we were in Salem. Leaving our lunch baskets, etc., at the meeing house on East Broadway (now used by Race Street Friends), we started out to see the town. Points of chief interest were all on streets of moderate length. In the burial ground used jointly by all in the place under the name of Friends, we first visited the Salem Oak. This is a most interesting sight; a single tree which, being unconfined, has grown outward, rather than upward. We were told it was only fifty-eight feet high, but its branches, from tip to tip, covered a space of one hundred and seventeen feet. The trunk, a little above the ground, measures twenty-eight feet in circumference. The tree gave evidence of having been guarded very carefully, and looked as though it might add many years to its estimated age of three hundred.

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* Note.—Condensed from a paper in the *Friend*, Philadelphia, Seventh month 4th, 1912.

To the east of this tree, in early days, stood the dwelling house of Samuel Nicholson, which, altered to adapt it to another purpose, became the first Friends' Meeting House. This was in 1680. A second house of brick was in nearly the same place. A third house, likewise of brick, built in 1772, was on another tract, and was that in which we had established headquarters for the day.

From the tree we crossed the street to the meeting house built in 1837, and still in use.

We sat for a little while on the benches used by members of Salem Particular Meeting and by those of Salem Quarterly Meeting until it was united to Haddonfield. The house seemed filled with the memories of worthy Friends, more or less closely associated with it in the not distant past.

Most of the company continued their walk to the foot of Broadway (or Bradway Street) to the point on Salem Creek where the settlers first landed. Here, in earliest times, tradition says, they used to tow great whales to cut them up. The surroundings of the boat landing are not now at all attractive. One old house, bearing the date 1691, seemed to carry us back to those primitive days, and looking up Broadway from the boat landing, it was easy to believe that it had once been the one and only street of the straggling village of Salem. Returning to the meeting house on East Broadway, we settled ourselves to learn some history. We had passed Fenwick Station on the railroad, and had come into a town where Fenwick was a good name for a street, a hotel or almost anything else which needed a distinctive title. An hour was devoted to a somewhat informal historical meeting. The president of a local historical society was present with words of kindly welcome, and the secretary of that body read a chapter of early Salem history. George Abbott, Jr., had prepared a paper, which George Abbott, Sr., read, on the career of John Fenwick, and parts of this paper may be summarized as follows:

Omitting all reference to Dutch and Swedish emigrants who had made sporadic attempts at settlement at many points on Delaware Bay and its inlets, John Fenwick may be considered the

founder of Salem. He came of an excellent English family, and in the time of the civil war espoused the Puritan cause and fought under Cromwell. He must have won some distinction, for at the execution of Charles I, in 1649, he commanded the cavalry assigned to be present on that occasion. Like some others of that army, he later came under increased religious conviction, and as one of the despised sect called Quakers, suffered persecution for his beliefs. Becoming interested financially in the ownership of lands in the little known western world, he began to dream of a colony in those regions, where Friends might enjoy full liberty of conscience. So it came to pass, that he led a colony to West Jersey. In the ship *Griffith* he sailed to America, entered Delaware Bay, went a few miles up one of the streams, and founded a town, which, because it was to be dedicated to peace, was called Salem.

We make no attempt to explain his title to the land. Out of a haze of royal grants, bankruptcies, assignments, suits and settlements, John Fenwick emerges with a generally acknowledged ownership of a tenth part of West Jersey. More important is it to recall that, like Penn, he took immediate steps honorably to purchase the land from the Indians who lived upon it.

Here, then, two years before Burlington was settled, and six years before William Penn arrived in Philadelphia, Fenwick and his associates began the town of Salem, and houses sprang up along that street now called Broadway. Sixteen acres seems to have been the usual allotment of land in town limits, but there being some persons of means among the colonists, they began to buy in 500 or 1,000-acre tracts, a little more remote.

Fenwick himself had a short and troubled career in America. His wife for some reason did not accompany him. Three daughters, possibly by a former wife, were with him, and each left descendants. Once Fenwick was arrested on some charge preferred by Governor Andros, and carried in chains to New York by sea, and there confined for more than two years. Of course, the affairs of his colony fell into disorder; there were charges and counter charges, and it would be difficult at this date to determine who was at fault. Through it all the colony seems to

have flourished. He died late in the year 1683, and even the place of his burial is a subject of dispute. William Penn, who was then in America, was named one of the guardians, to look out for the interests of his grandchildren.

Although the Fenwick colony landed in mid-winter of 1675-6 and probably suffered considerable hardship, we do not hear of any such mortality as in some other cases. Those among them who were Friends, immediately began the practice of assembling twice in the week for Divine worship. These meetings were of necessity held at private houses, and difficulty was experienced in finding a suitable place. Only six months elapsed before the following minute opens the official records of Salem Monthly Meeting:

"At a meeting held the first day of Sixth month, 1676, it was unanimously consented thereto, that the first Second-day of the week, in every month, the Friends within the town of New Salem in Fenwick's colony, and all Friends belonging thereunto, do monthly meet together, to consider of outward business, and of such as have been convinced, and those that walk disorderly; that they may with all gravity and uprightness to God, and in tenderness of spirit and love to their souls, be admonished, exhorted, and also reproved, and their evil deeds and practises testified against, in the wisdom of God, and authority of Truth, as may answer the wisdom of God within them."—*Minutes Salem Monthly Meeting.*

Names of those prominent in the organization of the early meeting, in addition to Fenwick, were Samuel Nicholson, Edward Wade, Samuel Hedge, John Thompson, John Smith, Richard Grey, John Addams, Nathan Smart and Edward Champney. We are led to conclude they met chiefly at the house of Samuel Nicholson, and as before stated, finally bought his house and town tract.

Other meetings sprang up within a few years, in the province of West Jersey, among which Salem appears to have held a rather prominent position. In 1682, as appears by minute of Burlington Monthly Meeting, a "General Meeting" was held at Salem. Minutes of Woodbury Monthly Meeting speak of a

"Quarterly Meeting" at Salem as early as 1683. In 1686 a Yearly Meeting held at Burlington directed that Salem and Newton (now Camden) should make one Quarterly Meeting.

A pleasant supper hour followed the reading of the address. An outfit of cups, dishes, etc., were graciously placed at our disposal, and citizens of the town, Friends, members of the Historical Society and others, did much to make our visit a thing long to be remembered. At seven o'clock the special train bore homeward a very happy group of excursionists, with pleasant memories of the day and place, with some new and lasting impressions, and a well-grounded feeling that they had been to Salem.

BOOKS, ETC., RECENTLY ISSUED, OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Christianity and Business. By Edward Grubb, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912. 2/6.

This is a small volume by the editor of the *British Friend.* It "had its origin in a discussion on 'Business Morality' which was introduced at the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, in London, in May, 1911, and which was afterwards vigorously carried on in the denominational papers of that body." The text was originally written for the *British Friend,* but is now published in a revised and expanded form.

The author states that he writes as a student of Economics and not as one with experience of business problems. Some may dissent from a few of the author's statements, and from his diagnosis of certain conditions, but no one can read his pages with any degree of attention without being made to think. His general conclusions seem to be sound. We commend the work as a thoughtful, sane, and suggestive treatment of a most important present-day question.

Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends of London Yearly Meeting. Part II. Christian Practice, consisting chiefly of Extracts from the Epistles and other Documents issued under the sanction of London Yearly Meeting, 1672 to 1911. Approved and adopted by the Yearly Meeting of 1911. London: Headley Brothers, 140 Bishopsgate [1912].

This volume is the result of careful labor, and was considered and approved at the adjourned session of London Yearly Meeteing, 1911, referred to in the last number of the BULLETIN (p. 118). It is an ex-

tremely interesting and valuable compilation and well worthy a thoughtful perusal by every concerned Friend. It is an admirable presentation of Christian Practice. It places daily life on a high level inculcating the highest ideals of conduct and service.

Those who have the opportunity to consult the various editions of the London "Discipline" will notice how each edition emphasizes those questions which were to the front when that edition appeared, and which doubtless were a cause for the revision of the old and the addition of new sections. One is able to do this because by a praiseworthy custom the date of each paragraph or section is given. The following are examples.

The chapter (ix) on "Counsel to the Young" is more than half new, that on "Education" (x) is also mostly new, so is that (xi) on "Counsel to Those in Perplexity," while that (xii) on "Counsel to Those in Moral Difficulty" is wholly new, as is also in chapter xiii, the section on the "Stewardship of Wealth." The sections on "Betting and Gambling" appear, we believe, for the first time. The sections on Peace have been revised and new ones added, and also those relating to Oaths. Three new paragraphs, "Civic Responsibility," "Service to Our Country," "Opportunities for Civic Service" (pages 126, 127) are worthy of careful consideration.

Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends. Third Series, 1664 *to* 1669. London: Headley Brothers. Philadelphia: Herman Newman, 1010 Arch Street. New York: David S. Taber, 144 East Twentieth Street. 4/6, $1.15 net.

This is Supplement No. 10 of the "Journal of the Friends' Historical Society," and continues the extracts from the State Papers. Like the preceding volumes, it gives the views of those opposed to Friends, and of the authorities, as well as some petitions from the suffering Friends. The papers here published are most valuable testimonies to the facts of early Quaker history, as well as indicating in an unimpeachable manner what our predecessors were compelled to suffer for their religious principles. Two extracts from this volume will be found elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN.

Nonconformity, Its Origin and Progress. By W. B. Selbie, M.A., D.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. London: Williams & Norgate [1912]. 1/. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 50 cents. Pp. 256.

This is a volume of the "Home University Library." The author is one of the prominent Nonconformists of Great Britain, and within the narrow limits allowed has done remarkably well. Probably nowhere within so small a compass can so clear an account of the subject be found. The chapter on "The Quakers" is, relatively, full, and in the

main sympathetic and appreciative. The following will give an idea of the writer's attitude. "It was just at the time that Puritanism was becoming official and more formal that Quakerism began to be. It is a mistake to think that it arose in any way from the sects just mentioned, or that it was in any way affiliated with them. It did, however, spring from the same spirit of revolt and resentment. It was a fresh protest in favor of the genuine Nonconformist ideal, and gave a very clear witness on its behalf. . . He [George Fox] met the prevailing religious temper among the more serious, who were weary of the formalism around them, and sought something deeper and more real than the theological disputations with which the pulpits of the time resounded. The appeal of Fox—a man of keen mother-wit rather than learning—to the witness of God in their souls was what many had been waiting to hear, and they responded to it with eagerness." Pp. 98, 99.

Evolution and Empire. By John W. Graham, M.A., Principal of Dalton Hall, the University of Manchester, author of "The Destruction of Daylight." London: Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate [1912.] Pp. 222.

This volume, which may be described as a militant book on Peace, is a series of chapters on subjects connected with Peace, such as "War as Builder of Nations," "Are the Times Ripe for Peace?" "Trade, Empire, and War," "Despotism and War," etc. Notwithstanding the author's claim that the chapters "make a book, not a collection of essays," there is a certain lack of continuity and some repetition. It is a good book for the advocates of Peace to read, and, to continue the metaphor, is an armory from which not a few keen weapons and heavy shot can be obtained for the good fight in favor of Peace and Arbitration.

The author writes (page 100), speaking of Arbitration, "The real moral victory was when Gladstone, in the face of a biassed court and a plainly exaggerated award, nevertheless accepted the Genevan decision." He should have added, "And also when the United States, in the face of a biassed board of arbitrators, and a plainly exaggerated award for fishery benefits, nevertheless accepted the decision. It was the acceptance by both nations which constituted the complete "moral victory."

The People Called Quakers. By Henry Seidel Canby. The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, June, 1912. New York: The Century Co.

This paper, which appeared in the June, 1912 number of *The Century*, has been widely read. It is not easy to characterize this production. There is much truth, much misconception, some error, and a misunderstanding of some of the fundamentals of Quakerism. The author, himself of Quaker descent, looks upon Quakerism rather as an "interesting case," than as a real, vital, religious force:—this latter he does not seem to

understand, and this fact takes his paper out of the field of valuable discussion. Nevertheless many, perhaps most, readers will receive an erroneous impression of real Quakerism, both past and present. The illustrations represent types long since passed away except in a few places, though the impression given to the casual reader is that they are characterstic of the present. The one entitled, "A Quaker Wedding," represents the groom as wearing his hat during the marriage ceremony. The writer of this note has attended many Quaker marriages during the past fifty years, but he has never seen the hat worn on any such occasion, or heard of any instance when it happened. It would be rash to say it has never occurred, but to publish such a print giving the impression of a typical occurrence is almost a libel on the Society.

Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707. Edited by Albert Cook Myers. With Maps and a Facsimile. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912. 8vo, 476 pp. $3.00 net.

This carefully-edited volume will prove invaluable to students of early Pennsylvania and West New Jersey history. Nowhere within the compass of one volume are given so many documents and papers of various kinds relating to this historical field. One document of special interest is the "Description of Pennsylvania," by Francis Daniel Pastorius, 1700. He is Whittier's "Pennsylvania Pilgrim." This tract of 93 pages has never before been translated in full into English. An interesting incident in the account is the letter of the father of Pastorius to William Penn, inquiring as to the "condition and method of life" of his son, from whom he had not heard for a long time, and hence was anxious about him. The correspondence was carried on in Latin. Penn's letter is dated "Bristolii, die 20, Mensis 2, vulgo Februarii 1699," and is addressed "A Monsieur Monsieur Melchior Adam Pastorius, President, à Windsheim in Franconia." William Penn says, "Thy son was recently among the living and is even now in Philadelphia. This year he is justice of the peace, or was so very lately. Furthermore, he is called a man sober, upright, wise, and pious, of a reputation approved on all hands and unimpeached. He is the father of a family, but how many children he has I do not know. An assurance of thy love and a letter announcing thy good health would be very pleasing to him." Pages 442-445.

The one feature of early Pennsylvania history which receives slight attention is the Welsh element. There is not much material available, but more might have been given. There are also no extracts from the Journal of Dankers and Sluyter, who give some not very flattering pictures of the Quaker residents before Penn's time, who seem to have been of those who had "run out of the Truth."

The Nature and Purpose of a Christian Society. The Swarthmore Lecture for 1912. By T. R. Glover, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, and University Lecturer in Ancient History, Cambridge. London: Headley Brothers, 1912. 1/.

This series of lectures, "on some subject relating to the message and work of the Society of Friends," was established in 1907, and a lecture is given annually at the time of London Yearly Meeting. The previous lecturers in order have been Rufus M. Jones, William C. Braithwaite, Joan M. Fry, and Thomas Hodgkin T. R. Glover is the first non-member to be invited to speak in this series. This action aroused some comment, but there may be at times considerable advantage in hearing how an outsider looks upon Quaker views and practices. That the subject was ably treated, those who heard T. R. Glover at Haverford College this last spring will have no doubt.

George Fox. By H. G. Wood, M. A., late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Lecturer at Woodbrooke. National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, Memorial Hall, E. C. Leaders of Revival Series. 1/ net. Illustrated [1912].

Those who met and heard Herbert G. Wood at the Haverford Summer School in 1910 will be anxious to read this little book. "The only excuse," says the author, "for re-telling a story that has been told so often and so well before, lies firstly in the hope that a narrative by one who is not a member of the Society of Friends may be justified by some difference of emphasis; and secondly in the fact that the publication of the Cambridge edition of Fox's *Journal,* and of William Charles Braithwaite's book, *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* has made some new material acessible." This volume can be placed alongside of T. E. Harvey's *Rise of the Quakers,* as an admirable epitome of the life of Fox and the early days of Quakerism.

A Dictionary of German-English and English-German. By Max Bellows. London: Longmans & Co., 1912. 6/ net. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $1.75. This dictionary is modelled on the well-known French-English, English-French dictionary of the author's father, the late John Bellows, of Gloucester. Such a work can only be judged by constant use, but the fact that the printing took four years, indicates the care taken in its production. It is a book to be grateful for.

NOTES AND QUERIES

FREDERIC SEEBOHM. — In the passing away of Frederic Seebohm Second month, 1912, the Society of Friends lost one of its foremost men of letters. He was the son of Benjamin Seebohm, whose religious visit to this country during the years 1846-1850, produced a lasting effect upon many members of the Society. Frederic Seebohm was born 1833, and studied law at the Middle Temple under Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. He practiced but little, and soon entered the banking business at Hitchin. He did not allow his business to engross all his attention, but fulfilled many civic duties with success. It is, however, as an historian that he claims the attention of the readers of the BULLETIN.

He was drawn to the study of the religious movements of the sixteenth century, and as early as his twenty-sixth year began contributing papers on this subject to the great English reviews. In 1867 he published his first great work, "The Oxford Reformers of 1498"; a second edition appeared in 1869 under the title, "The Oxford Reformers, Colet, Ersamus and More"; a third and fourth edition were subsequently issued. In 1876 or 1877 he contributed to the "Epoch Series" his "Era of the Protestant Revolution," which remains as the best brief handbook of that period. Perhaps no work gives in so small a compass as clear a survey of the causes, currents, and results of that great era.

His attention was then directed to economic history, to which he devoted the rest of his literary labor. For the general public his works on this field are too technical to attract many readers, and it is rather to be regretted that one so fitted to treat of religious progress and reform should have left these subjects. To students of economic history his volumes, "The English Village Community," "The Tribal System in Wales," "Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law," and others are well known. Some of his positions on matters connected with these subjects were controverted by other students, but there can be little doubt that his "English Village Community" opened to English scholars a then almost untrodden field. His patient study, and his unvarying adherence to truth as he was able to discover it, were worthy of all admiration.

JORDANS GUEST HOUSE.—The Friends' Guest House at Jordans, Buckinghamshire, was formally opened Seventh month 13, 1912. The house is about one hundred yards from Jordans

Meeting House. It was the old farm house and the scene of many stirring incidents in the days of persecution. The property was acquired by Friends, and the house renovated and enlarged in keeping with the old portion. Silvanus P. Thompson, and J. Rendel Harris made the addresses at the opening, Dr. Harris unlocked the door and the building was thrown open for inspection. It was stated that about £1,500 is still needed to complete all plans. Visitors to the historic Jordans and the grave of William Penn will now have a place where meals can be obtained, and arrangements made for a stay of a few days or weeks.

George Fox's Writing Desk.—Dr. Thomas Hodgkin writes in "The Friend" (London), Ninth month 20, 1912, "The old bedstead (said, but I believe incorrectly, to have been used by George Fox), was bought by Lawrence R. Wilson, on behalf of the Society; and the desk, which is believed to have really belonged to him, was bought by Mrs. Kennedy, of Stone Cross, Ulverston, and most kindly presented by her and her husband 'to the Society of Friends, to remain in Fox's old meeting house forever."

Marriages among Early Friends.—The following extract from "Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, Third Series, 1664 to 1669," p. 236, shows some of the difficulties Friends labored under in refusing to be "married by a priest." "Hee further sayth, that Peter Johnson of Hollam tooke one Rebecah who he liues withall as his wife and hath children by her, that he ownes to be his, and hath not caused them to be baptized to this deponants knowledge nether doth it appeare to this deponant, that the said Peter and Rebecah are marryed, nether doth this deponant beleeve they are." A note by the editor of the volume adds, "Peter and Rebecca *were* duly married according to Friends' ceremony, 19th 6 month, 1658; the marriage was entered on the Register of Hull Monthly Meeting."

Date of the above deposition was "Beverley, February 21th 1664 [5]," and the deponent was Henry Lathley.

Journal of Sarah Lindsey.—The Library of Haverford College has recently acquired a carefully and neatly executed manuscript copy of the Journal kept by Sarah Lindsey of England "whilst accompanying her husband Robert Lindsey on a religious visit to Friends and others in the Western Hemisphere, including California, Oregon, British Columbia, and the Sandwich Islands, also some of the Meetings of Friends in Australia and Van Diemans Land, for the use of her children and Friends, 1857-1861."

Portions of this Journal were printed in the "British Friend," and it was made use of in the

printed sketch of the lives of these devoted Friends (Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey, London, 1886), but it has never been printed in full. It contains much information of the condition of Friends in America 1857-1861, and tells of the very beginnings of Quakerism on the Pacific Coast. As a picture of the conveniences, or rather inconveniences, of travel at that period it is also of great value, as there is much of description—far more so than in most journals kept by travelling Friends. The work is in five volumes aggregating 837 quarto pages.

SWARTHMOOR OR SWARTHMORE.—Norman Penney, in the *Friend* for Ninth month 27, 1912, expresses a hope that in future the name should be written *Swarthmoor*. While it is true that *Swarthmore* occurs in early times, the more common way is *Swarthmoor;* it is preferred by the descendants of Margaret Fell, and is so spelled in Fox's Journal.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM PENN; Daniel Cooledge.—In the BULLETIN for Third month, 1911 (vol. 4, No. 1), were six letters of William Penn, printed, as believed, for the first time. The editor's attention has since been called to the fact that five of these letters (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6) had been printed in 1806. The title of the little book is, "Some Memoirs of the Religious Life of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania, and one of the people called Quakers. To which is added LETTERS written, by him, on LOVE and FRIENDSHIP. *'Yea and all they that will live Godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution.'* Walpole (N. H.), Published by Daniel Cooledge, 1806. *William Fessenden, Brattleboro, Printer.*" 3½ x 5¼ in.; 31 pp.

In what way Daniel Cooledge secured those letters is not known.

From the well-informed Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Clarence S. Brigham, we learn that, "Daniel Cooledge was a bookseller and prominent member of the Society of Friends in New Hampshire. He published several other Friends' books, including William Penn's "Epistle," "Memoirs of John Roberts," "A Short History of a Long Travel from Babel to Bethel," "Principles of Religion Professed by Quakers," and the "Pious Instructor." In the latter volume are six letters by William Penn, a letter by William Mott, one by Richard Shackleton, and various other letters and epistles."

A TITLE-PAGE, and an Index for Volumes 3 and 4 of the BULLETIN will be issued with the next number.